DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 078 510 EA 005 076

TITLE	Public Knowledge and Busing Opposition: An Interpretation of a New National Survey.
INSTITUTION	Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	11 Mar 73
NOTE	28p.
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS	*Bus Transportation; Integration Effects; Integration Methods; Integration Studies; *National Surveys; *Public Opinion; *Public Support; Racial Balance; *School Integration

ABSTRACT

This report discusses a survey which explored the contradictory opinions of millions of Americans who support integration, but often resist one means to desegregation, busing. According to the report, two thirds of the people in this survey who say they support integration are also generally opposed to busing. The survey was designed to learn the extent to which public opposition to busing is monolithic and implacable and to study the relationship between accurate knowledge about the facts of existing busing requirements and attitudes on the issues. The survey produced three basic findings: (1) the public seriously misunderstands the facts of the busing controversy; (2) those who best understand the facts are more supportive of busing and much more opposed to Congressional action or a Constitutional amendment to forbid court-ordered busing; (3) most people expressing an opinion are willing to support strictly limited busing when there is no other way to desegregate the schools. The report also analyzes answers to particular questions. (JF)

ED 078510

APR 10 1973

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Washington, D. C. 20425

NEWS ADVISORY

SUBJECT: Release of "Public Knowledge and Busing Opposition: An Interpretation of a New National Survey"

FOR RELEASE: Editions and broadcasts of Sunday, March 11

The United States Commission on Civil Rights believes the survey on which the attached material is based to be the most comprehensive poll to date on the public's attitude and information on the question of busing to achieve school desegregation. The Commission's interpretation of the survey's findings can be found on Page 16 of the attached.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT

Bernard Morris
Acting Director, Office of Information
and Publications
1121 Vermont Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20425

Telephone: (202) 254-6600

EA 005 076

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

FILMED FROM BEST AVAILABLE COPY

PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE AND BUSING OPPOSITION

An Interpretation of a New National Survey

A new national poll on school busing shows that the public has very little knowledge about the facts of existing busing plans. Those who know the most, this opinion survey indicates, are most inclined to support busing. The study also shows that a large fraction of the public is prepared to support limited amounts of busing when convinced that it is the only alternative to segregated education.

During the past two years a succession of public opinion polls and referenda votes have shown that most people favor school integration but oppose busing. A number of the questions about busing, however, have been incomplete or misleading. National polls have asked about busing as if it were an end in itself rather than a means to remedy unconstitutional segregation. A March 1972 national poll question assumed that the purpose of busing was to "achieve racial balance," although the courts have emphatically said that desegregation, not racial balance, is the goal. After noting both the contradictions in the existing data and the defects of the previous questions, the Civil Rights Commission decided to acquire and analyze the data collected in an in-depth national survey of busing information and attitudes conducted by Opinion Research Corporation in November and December, 1972.

Commentators often ignore the contradiction between the public expression of support for integration and the opposition to busing. They assume that the busing statements express the "real" opinions and the integration support is very largely hypocritical. Given the level of housing segregation in metropolitan areas and the size of the ghetto population, the

fact is that there cannot be serious desegregation in many areas without transporting students.

The new survey was designed to explore much more precisely the contradictory opinions of the millions of Americans who support integration but often resist the only means to desegregation. Two-thirds of the people who say they support integration are also generally opposed to busing.

TABLE 1

General Attitudes on Integration and Busing* (N=2006)

	Support	Oppose	No Opinion	Totals
Integration as a national objective	67%	22%	11%	100%
General support for busing	21%	70%	9%	100%

TABLE 2

Attitudes of Integration Supporters and Opponents on General Busing Question (N=2006)

	Support Busing	Oppose Busing	No Opinion	Totals
Integration supporters	27%	67%	6%	100%
Integration opponents	9%	87%	4%	100%

*See Appendix 1 for poll questions and basic results.

This survey was designed to learn the extent to which public opposition to busing is monolithic and implacable and to study the relationship between accurate knowledge of the facts of existing busing requirements and attitudes on the issues.

The survey produced three basic findings:

(1) The public seriously misunderstands the facts of the busing controversy

(2) Those who best understand the facts are more supportive of busing and much more opposed to Congressional action or a Constitutional amendment to forbid court-ordered busing

(3) Most people expressing an opinion are willing to support strictly limited busing when there is no other way to desegregate the schools.

This survey does not show public enthusiasm for busing, but merely that the public is poorly informed and that this misinformation is related to busing opposition. A review of the data also suggests that a large number of Americans do not realize that there is often no alternative to busing if desegregation is to be achieved.

Misinformation is not, of course, a total explanation of the intense public opposition to busing. Even with effective national and local leadership accurately communicating the facts of the situation, there would doubtless be substantial opposition. In some cases, no doubt, an underlying opposition to integration or attachment to an existing school tend to predispose people to accept and respond to false claims about busing.

The fact remains, nonetheless, that many millions of Americans are very seriously misinformed about vital issues affecting their children.

The only reasonable hypothesis is that if they did know and understand the facts then their attitudes would become somewhat more favorable.

The survey shows that the basic slogans of busing opponents have been very largely accepted as facts by the American people. For example, most people who express an opinion believe that the courts have ordered busing even though they think there is evidence that it damages education, that busing is extremely expensive, and that children are being forcibly bused from suburban school districts into central city districts. Many also believe that busing is physically dangerous for children and that desegregation seriously damages the test scores of white children. All of these beliefs are wrong, as this discussion will document.

The survey explored public knowledge through a series of six true-false questions. On every question the majority of the population either answered incorrectly or could not answer at all.

TABLE 3

Level of Public Information*	(N=2006)
Moderately to well-informed	16%
Limited information	42%
Substantially misinformed	41%
Total	99%

(People answering correctly 4-6 of the six information questions were placed in the moderately to well-informed category, those with 2-3 correct in the limited information group, and those with 0-1 right answers in the substantially misinformed category. Total less than 100% due to rounding.)

*See Appendix 2 for poll questions and basic results.

The survey not only tested information levels but also related inaccurate information on each individual true-false question to attitudes on the basic policy issues. The relationship was most dramatic when the public was asked about the educational impact of desegregation. The issue was examined through two questions, one of which asked directly about possible educational damage to white children. The second asked whether the "Supreme Court has ordered busing in spite of evidence that it would harm a child's ability to learn."*

Each question generated considerable uncertaintly and confusion, with 40% of the public unable to answer the first and nearly 30 percent expressing no opinion on the second. Confusion was evident even in the positions of those who felt that they had enough information to respond. Most respondents thought that white children were not severely damaged, but the majority also believed that the Supreme Court had ordered busing in spite of evidence that it would harm education.

*It is possible that some respondents may have interpeted this question as if it contained an assertion that such evidence did, in fact, exist. Any factual question about the substance of a court decision contains this logical ambiguity. The question was asked because of the great importance of the issue, and the results are sufficiently congruent with those on the question on the educational impact of desegregation to indicate that most respondents correctly understood the question.

Opinions of Impact of Desegregation on
Education of White Children*

Assertion	Survey Sample View: True	False	No Opinion	Total
"White students' test scores have fallen sharply in desegregated schools"	27%	35%	38%	100%
"Supreme Court has ordered busing in spite of evidence that it would harm a child's ability to learn" [1]	41%	31%	28%	100%

These questions were particularly important because they were closely related to attitudes on school integration and busing. People who responded that white children suffered real scholastic damage though integration--about a fourth of the respondents--were more than twice as likely to oppose school integration as a national objective than people accurately understanding the Supreme Court's decision. Fears of scholastic damage were far more intense in the South; fears were least common among people below 40 years of age and those who had some college training. [See Appendix 4].

Most Americans who expressed an opinion believed that the Supreme Court was ignoring evidence of educational damage to children in order to accomplish desegregation through busing. This belief was particularly strong in the South, where it is held by a lopsided margin. A sub-

*See Appendix 4 for a demographic breakdown on this question.

[1] Opinions about Court orders, by regions:

Northeast	(N=483)	29%	37%	34%	100%
North Central	(N=563)	34%	35%	31%	100%
West	(N=330)	37%	30%	33%	100%
South	(N=630)	57%	23%	20%	100%

stantial majority of the people who oppose integration as a national objective believe that the Court has ignored educational damage, an opinion held by only about a third of integration supporters.

The Supreme Court has explicity directed lower courts to consider whether the "time or distance of travel is so great as to risk either the health of the children or significantly impinge on the educational process." The Court's unanimous opinion by Chief Justice Burger added that, "It hardly needs stating that the limits on time of travel will vary with many factors, but probably with none more than the age of the students." The Court's interpretation of Constitutional requirements, in other words, is almost the exact opposite of what the public understands. In fact, the Supreme Court has explicitly warned Federal District Judges to consider carefully any possible educational damage in designing desegregation plans.

One of the few well-established findings of education research in desegregated school systems is that white children rarely suffer any educational damage and that sometimes they make significant gains in desegregated settings. In most of the reported studies, desegregation has made no appreciable difference in white achievement scores even during the difficult transition period in the first year of integration in a reorganized system. Where educational reforms have accompanied desegregation, as in Berkeley, California, Ann Arbor, Michigan, and Riverside, California, white scores have risen appreciably.* Most studies show a small gain in black achievement scores.

*See Appendix 5 for more detailed report on social science research on this point.

The impact of beliefs about educational damage appears to be very powerful. Those who believe the Supreme Court has ignored educational harm are less than a third as likely as those correctly informed to support busing in general. On the other hand, people who are generally opposed to busing, but unworried about scholastic harm, are nearly twice as willing to change existing bus routes to increase integration.

Even among the group opposed to rerouting buses, beliefs about educational effects have a dramatic impact. Those with correct information about the Court's treatment of the educational question are more than twice as likely to support busing as a "last resort."

The same beliefs are related to attitudes towards the proposed Constitutional amendment limiting school desegregation. People who realize that the Supreme Court has not ordered busing where there was evidence that it would "harm a child's ability to learn" are almost twice as likely to oppose a Constitutional amendment.

TABLE 5

Positions on Various Policy Issues
Classified According to Beliefs About the Supreme
Court's Treatment of the Educational Issue

Policy Issues	People who believe that the Court has ignored evidence of educational harm	People who believe the Court has not ignored evidence of harm
General support of busing	10%	35%
Oppose busing in general but support changing existing bus routes	18%	31%
Oppose even rerouting but support busing as a "Last Resort" for desegregation	7%	15%
Support Constitutional Amendment	39%	23%

(The columns in this table do not add to 100% because the table is designed to illustrate the divisions on a series of issues of two separate groups in the population -- those who believe the Court has ignored educational harm and those who do not.)

Two other questions showed the highest level of public misinformation. Of those expressing an opinion, better than a 2-1 majority of the people said that school districts are already busing children from suburban school districts to inner city districts as a result of court orders. [See Appendix 2, questions C8A-1, C8A-2]. Although District judges in Richmond and Detroit have handed down such decisions, the Richmond decision has been reversed by the circuit court of appeals and is now before the Supreme Court for review, and the Detroit case has been postponed on appeal. No such busing is now taking place. Thus, it seems likely that some portion of public opposition on the general issue of busing arises from false information about the separate question of metropolitan-wide desegregation plans.

The highest level of mistaken information concerned the costs of busing. By a margin of approximately 6-1, people say that busing plans are extremely expensive, adding 25 percent or more to local school costs. Actually, the added cost is very much lower.

The huge 550-square mile Charlotte-Mecklenburg, North Carolina school system, for example, spent 1.1 percent of its school budget to establish an acceptable desegregation pattern in its schools during 1971-72. In the largest school system yet to undergo total desegregation, Prince Georges County, Maryland (the nation's largest suburban district), the cost of implementing the court-ordered plan will be .6 percent of the annual budget. In the largest desegregation plan on the West Coast, San Francisco, the cost was 1.1 percent of last year's budget. In the Denver case now pending before the Supreme Court, the cost of implementing the existing court order is approximately one-half

of one percent of the school budget. In Hillsborough County, Florida, the cost of busing children in a large segment of Florida's second largest metropolitan area was .6 percent of last year's school budget. In the metropolitan district of Nasville-Davidson County, Tennessee the operating costs for busing were .7 percent. The costs reported by the Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity range from .1 percent to 2.2 percent, with an average of less than 1 percent.

The only question answered correctly by nearly half of the public concerned the safety of school bus transportation. While many attacks on busing orders have criticized needless risks to the safety of children, riding school buses has long been the safest way to get children to school. Decades of research show that it is far safer for a child to take a bus to school than to walk. National Safety Council figures show that it is more than twice as dangerous to walk and data collected by the Pennsylvania State Department of Education show that children on buses there are more than three times as safe.*

The survey shows that the people with the most experience with school busing -- those on the farms and in the rural areas of the country -- are most convinced about the safety of school buses. Rural people believe buses to be safer by a 5-1 margin, while a much larger percentage of people in big cities express such fears.

---

*The National Safety Council's latest statistics report an accident rate of .09 for boys and .07 for girls who walk to school and an accident rate of .03 for children who travel by school bus. Source: National Safety Council, Accident Facts, 90-91, (1971 Edition).

TABLE 6

Percent of Public Who Recognize That
Busing Children Is Safer Than
Letting Them Walk

Location		True Busing Is Safer	False	Don't Know	Totals
Rural	(N=265)	73%	14%	13%	100%
Non-metropolitan Urban	(N=325)	53%	30%	17%	100%
Metropolitan area below 1 million	(N=577)	52%	31%	17%	100%
Metropolitan area over 1 million	(N=839)	39%	42%	19%	100%

Another question where a substantial number of people had accurate information concerned the present scale of busing for desegregation. While there were many people who lacked sufficient information to answer at all, most of those who answered the question recognized that fewer than one-fiftieth of public school children are now bused for purposes of desegregation. In fact, according to the most recent HEW figures only about 1.2 percent of all school children are bused for this reason. Statements about "massive busing" have not obscured the fact that a relatively small segment of the student population is affected by the court orders.

The general level of public information revealed by the study was shockingly low. (See Table 3) Less than one-sixth of the public got more than half the true-false questions right, even though random guessing could be expected to give the average respondent at least three correct answers. More than 40 percent of the people were very seriously misinformed, answering none or only one of the six questions accurately. The level of correct information was by far the lowest in the South. (See Appendix 3.)

Policy Attitudes

The poll improved on earlier studies of busing attitudes by giving people an opportunity to respond to a whole range of possible desegregation policies. The analysis then related these opinions to factual understanding of busing as revealed by the true-false questions.

Although the survey, like earlier polls, found strong general opposition to busing, this analysis shows that public attitudes are actually far less clear when additional questions were asked. Busing opposition turned out to be less overwhelming and less implacable than earlier polls had reported. More than a fifth of those generally opposed to busing, for example, support changing the routes of existing school buses to increase integration. (A recent computerized analysis of 44 urban areas for HEW by Lambda Corporation showed that efficient use of existing buses, with only very modest additional mileage,could achieve high levels of desegregation in most areas.)

When those who were opposed to busing were asked a further question -- whether they would support busing as a "last resort" if "other ways of overcoming unlawful segregation could not be found or didn't work" -- an additional 7 percent were ready to support busing. Thus, when one asks about a limited scale of busing where there was no other alternative to segregated education, the public is supportive by a narrow margin. [See Table 7]

TABLE 7

Cumulative Support for Various Busing Policies

	Favor
General Busing Support (N=2006)	21%
Opposed Generally, but Favor Rerouting buses to increase desegregation (N=1422)	15%
Opposed to Rerouting but Favor Busing as a Last Resort if only way to achieve desegregation (N=953)	7%
Total Supporting Some Form of Busing	43%
Total Opposition	36%
No Opinion	21%
Grand Total	100%

One striking fact about these questions is that they show that some Americans oppose not busing itself, but unnecessary busing. Part of the general opposition to busing reflected in normal poll questions clearly reflects confusion generated by claims that the courts are using busing arbitrarily and implications that there is some other way to overcome school segregation in spite of urban residential segregation. This confusion has given a substantial number of Americans the impression that the Nation can somehow desegregate without moving students from segregated neighborhoods.

Similar contradictions in public opinion were evident in responses to two questions about possible Congressional restrictions on court-ordered busing. The public supported legislation limiting busing to

the nearest schools by a 2-1 margin, but was strongly opposed to a Constitutional amendment restricting desegregation. [See Table 8]

TABLE 8

Attitudes on Legislation and Constitutional Amendment to Restrict Desegregation (N=2006)

	Favor	Oppose	No Opinion	Totals
Legislation	57%	29%	14%	100%
Constitutional Amendment	30%	53%	17%	100%

A majority of the people do not want to alter the Constitution but believe that it would be proper for Congress to limit the court's remedies for the right to desegregated education.

The people who answered more than half of the information questions correctly were far more likely to believe that Congressional action limiting busing was wrong than those who answered less than half correctly. In fact, a clear majority of moderately to well-informed people expressing an opinion were opposed to such anti-busing legislation. See Table 9.

TABLE 9

Level of Public Information and Support for Anti-Busing Legislation (N=2006)

Information Levels	Support Anti-Busing Legislation	Oppose Anti-Busing Legislation	No Opinion	Totals
Moderately to well-informed (N=325)	43%	48%	9%	100%
Limited information (N=849)	57%	32%	11%	100%
Substantially misinformed (N=832)	61%	20%	19%	100%

Blacks and whites responded very differently when asked whether they would voluntarily send their children to a better school in a neighborhood where the residents were of the other race. While a substantial majority of blacks expressing an opinion were prepared to send their children into white schools to obtain a better education, whites who expressed an opinion divided almost 5 to 1 against sending their children. In both races, those with at least some college education were far more willing to send their children out of the neighborhood for a superior education program. See Table 10.

TABLE 10

Readiness to Send Children to a Better School in a Neighborhood Where Most Residents Were of the Other Race

Racial Group	Would Send Children	Would Not Send Children	No Opinion	Totals
All non-whites (N=154)	49%	34%	17%	100%
All whites (N=1832)	17%	75%	8%	100%

The Position of The Commission

The Commission on Civil Rights believes that the findings of the national public opinion survey summarized in this report underline the urgent need of the public for more accurate information on one of the most important domestic issues in our society. Too often public officials, educational leaders, and members of the mass media have, unthinkingly, accepted the criticisms and passed on the slogans of busing opponents without troubling to examine the evidence. The result has been increased public tension, magnified public fears, and serious pressures on the government at all levels, as well as the schools, and the children who are trying to handle successfully a major transition in accord with the mandate of the Constitution as enunciated by the Supreme Court of the United States almost two decades ago.

The public is clearly confused. The people have been misled. They believe, for example, that the Constitution should not be amended to limit desegregation but that it is all right for Congress to restrict the courts' power to order busing.

The striking anomaly is that the American public simultaneously shows a commendable restraint about interferring with the constitutional provisions establishing the right to a non-segregated education but a willingness to see Congress restrict this right through legislation, without even following the procedures for amendment of the Constitution. It seems not to occur to many Americans that if it is a mistake to diminish the rights of citizens by amending the Constitution, it is an even more grievous error to attempt to deny constitutional rights by a simple act of Congress. It is noteworthy, however, that a majority of those citizens expressing an opinion who had a reasonable understanding

of the facts of the busing dispute opposed Congressional action. Those who were moderately to well-informed opposed the Constitutional amendment by a better than 3 to 1 margin.

This survey clearly demonstrates the oversimplified character of earlier descriptions of public attitudes on busing. The figures show severe public confusion and misinformation. The study shows a close relationship between understanding the facts and more favorable responses toward desegregation. The more people know, the less willing they are to restrict the Constitutional rights of black children.

The challenge to our public and private leadership at all levels to present the facts accurately is an extremely important one. If the people are accurately informed, we believe that they will oppose moves to restrict the right of ghetto children to attend better, desegregated schools and that they will accept the changes necessary to fulfill the national objective of integrated education.

Basic decisions on education are far too important to be decided on the basis of unfounded, emotion-laden slogans. The recent report of the Senate Select Committee on Equal Education Opportunity, often known as the Mondale Committee, summarizes the costs of public confusion:

> The focus of national debate on the misleading issues of "massive busing" and "racial balance" has contributed to deteriorating public confidence in the justice of constitutional requirements, and in the essential fairness of our judicial system.

When we decide the fate of desegregation in metropolitan areas in which most American children learn, we are making decisions which will deeply affect the pattern of American race relations and therefore the whole nature of our society. Before the people decide, they deserve the facts.

APPENDIX 1

Policy Questions and Basic Results

1. [Question C1]

As a national objective, do you favor or oppose racially integrated schools, that is, schools attended by both blacks and whites together?

	Number of Interviews	Favor	Oppose	No Opinion
Total U.S. Public	2006	67%	22%	11%

2. [Question C2]

In areas where the courts have found unlawful segregation of white and black school children the courts have ordered desegregation, including busing where necessary, so that whites and blacks will not be kept from attending school together. Do you favor or oppose such busing?

	Number of Interviews	Favor	Oppose	No Opinion
Total U.S. Public	2006	21%	70%	9%

3. [Question C3]

Suppose the courts found that unlawful segregation could be overcome with no more busing than there already is, by having the buses take different routes than they are now taking. Would you favor or oppose changing the bus routes to overcome unlawful segregation?

This question was asked only to those who were generally opposed to busing on the previous question and the statistics are expressed as percentages of those asked the question.

	Number of Interviews	Favor	Oppose	No Opinion
Oppose-Busing Public	1422	21%	67%	12%

Appendix 1 - Continued
Poll Questions and Basic Results

4. [Question C4]

What if busing were a last resort -- that is, that other ways of overcoming unlawful segregation could not be found or didn't work. Would you favor or oppose busing as a last resort? (Asked only of those who oppose desegregation and also oppose changing bus routes.)

This question was asked only to those who were opposed on both of the previous two questions and the statistics are expressed as percentages of those asked question C3.

Favor	Oppose	No Opinion
10%	55%	2%

5. [Question C5]

A law has been introduced in Congress to prohibit busing of children beyond the nearest schools even where the courts have found unlawful segregation. Do you feel it would be right or not right for Congress to pass such a law?

	Number of Interviews	Right	Not Right	No Opinion
Total U.S. Public	2006	57%	29%	14%

6. [Question C6]

Would you favor or oppose a constitutional amendment which would make it lawful to keep schools segregated?

	Number of Interviews	Favor	Oppose	No Opinion
Total U.S. Public	2006	30%	53%	17%

Appendix 1 - Continued
Poll Questions and Basic Results

7. [Question C7-A]

Suppose a new school which offered better quality education was opened in a mostly black neighborhood. If you had a choice between sending a child to that new school or a school in your own neighborhood, which would you choose?

	Number of Interviews	New School	Neighborhood School	No Opinion
Total White Public	1832	17%	75%	8%

8. [Question C7-B]

Suppose a new school which offered better quality education was opened in a mostly white neighborhood. If you had a choice between sending a child to that new school or a school in your own neighborhood, which would you choose?

	Number of Interviews	New School	Neighborhood School	No Opinion
Total Nonwhite Public	154	49%	34%	17%

Survey Questions and Basic Results on Knowledge about School Busing

1.[Question C8A-1]

I'm going to read some statements about school busing. Please tell me whether you believe the statement is true or false.

A. Court-ordered busing of children from suburban school districts into central city school districts is now taking place in some American cities.

	Number of Interviews	True	False	No Opinion
Total U.S. Public	959	68%	13%	19%

2. [Question C8A-2]

I'm going to read some statements about school busing. Please tell me whether you believe the statement is true or false.

A. The courts now require the busing of children from suburban school districts into central city school districts.

	Number of Interviews	True	False	No Opinion
Total U.S. Public	1047	53%	24%	23%

3. [Question C8-B]

...B. Less than 1 out of 50 school children in the U.S. are being bused for purposes of desegregation.

	Number of Interviews	True	False	No Opinion
Total U.S. Public	2006	44%	25%	31%

Appendix 2 - Continued
Poll Questions and Basic Results

4. [Question C8-C 71013]

...C. White students' test scores have fallen sharply in desegregated schools.

	Number of Interviews	True	False	No Opinion
Total U.S. Public	2006	27%	35%	38%

5. [Question C8-D]

...D. As far as accidents are concerned, busing school children is safer than letting them walk.

	Number of Interviews	True	False	No Opinion
Total U.S. Public	2006	49%	33%	18%

6. [Question C8-E]

...E. Busing for desegregation adds 25 percent or more to local school costs.

	Number of Interviews	True	False	No Opinion
Total U.S. Public	2006	64%	11%	25%

7. [Question C8-F]

...F. The Supreme Court has ordered busing in spite of evidence that it would harm a child's ability to learn.

	Number of Interviews	True	False	No Opinion
Total U.S. Public	2006	41%	31%	28%

Appendix 3

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS CLASSIFIED ACCORDINGLY TO INFORMATION LEVELS

(Moderately to well-informed (correctness score 4-6), Limited information (correctness score 2-3), and Substantially misinformed (correctness score 0-1, on six true false questions on knowledge about school busing).

(TABLE READS DOWN)	TOTAL PUBLIC	NUMBER CORRECT ANSWERS 0-1	2-3	4-6
NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS	2006	832	849	325
MEN	48	46	49	51
WOMEN	52	54	51	49
18-29 YEARS OF AGE	28	21	31	39
30-39	17	17	17	20
40-49	18	17	18	20
50-59	16	19	16	11
60 YEARS OR OVER	20	26	18	10
LESS THAN HIGH SCHOOL COMPLETE	41	45	41	27
HIGH SCHOOL COMPLETE	37	40	35	33
SOME COLLEGE	22	15	23	40
PROFESSIONAL	11	8	11	16
MANAGERIAL	12	13	10	15
CLERICAL, SALES	11	10	11	13
CRAFTSMAN, FOREMAN	18	19	17	18
OTHER MANUAL, SERVICE	27	25	29	23
FARMER, FARM LABORER	3	3	3	2
NON-METRO - RURAL	12	12	11	15
URBAN	17	19	17	12
METRO - 50,000-999,999	30	28	32	26
1,000,000 OR OVER	41	41	40	47
NORTHEAST	23	21	24	29
NORTH CENTRAL	28	25	28	33
SOUTH	32	36	32	19
WEST	17	18	16	19
UNDER $5,000 FAMILY INCOME	24	24	26	20
$5,000-$6,999	11	13	10	9
$7,000-$9,999	21	21	21	20
$10,000-$14,999	22	21	23	21
$15,000 OR OVER	20	19	18	28
WHITE	89	94	85	87
NONWHITE	10	5	14	12
NO CHILDREN IN HOUSEHOLD	49	54	48	41
WITH CHILDREN UNDER 18	51	46	52	59
WITH TEENAGERS 12-17	27	25	26	34
OWN HOME	69	71	69	63
RENT HOME	30	27	30	36

Appendix 4

Demographic Breakdown of Responses to Assertion that "the Supreme Court has ordered busing in spite of evidence that it would harm a child's ability to learn" (Question C8-f)

	NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS	TRUE %	FALSE %	NO OPINION
TOTAL U.S. PUBLIC	2006	41	31	28
MEN	963	43	29	28
WOMEN	1043	39	32	29
18-29 YEARS OF AGE	569	37	39	24
30-39	346	38	34	28
40-49	309	44	31	25
50-59	308	46	23	31
60 YEARS OR OVER	473	41	22	37
LESS THAN HIGH SCHOOL COMPLETE	649	41	27	32
HIGH SCHOOL COMPLETE	729	42	31	27
SOME COLLEGE	622	37	39	24
PROFESSIONAL	276	32	41	27
MANAGERIAL	262	46	26	28
CLERICAL, SALES	222	38	36	26
CRAFTSMAN, FOREMAN	341	45	32	23
OTHER MANUAL, SERVICE	450	43	29	28
FARMER, FARM LABORER	61	33	34	33
NON-METRO - RURAL	265	38	33	29
URBAN	325	43	28	29
METRO - 50,000-999,999	577	39	33	28
1,000,000 OR OVER	839	41	30	29
NORTHEAST	483	29	37	34
NORTH CENTRAL	563	34	35	31
SOUTH	630	57	23	20
WEST	330	37	30	33
UNDER $5,000 FAMILY INCOME	395	36	31	33
$5,000-$6,999	229	50	27	23
$7,000-$9,999	440	38	33	29
$10,000-$14,999	474	43	29	28
$15,000 OR OVER	427	42	33	25
WHITE	1832	41	30	29
NONWHITE	154	32	42	26
NO CHILDREN IN HOUSEHOLD	988	41	27	32
WITH CHILDREN UNDER 18	1014	40	35	25
WITH TEENAGERS 12-17	489	41	36	23
OWN HOME	1405	43	29	28
RENT HOME	578	34	36	30

APPENDIX 5

Even prominent academic critics of school busing decisions find very little data to suggest any damage to white children. Christopher Jencks, whose widely discussed book, Inequality, is a far-reaching attack on many liberal assumptions about the educational process, makes the following conclusion:

> Educational researchers have almost never found that white students' test scores actually fell as a result of being in desegregated schools. Nonetheless, both blacks and many whites have been proclaiming the inferiority of schools in black neighborhoods for a generation, so it is not surprising that many white parents believe the difference important.

Professor David Armor, whose article, "The Evidence on Busing," in Public Interest (Summer 1972) attracted national attention as the leading social science critique of school busing for desegregation, produced no contrary evidence. His article was based on data from five areas. In four of the studies, the data came from the first year of desegregation, when the potential disruption to school procedures and the educational process would presumably be greatest. None of these studies, which Armor considered the most methodologically sound now available, show damage to white children. In testimony before the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Dr. Armor said that "there is no worsening of achievement for white students." In fact, in two of the communities Armor studied, white scores actually rose.

Even the busing skeptics admit that desegregation has some positive educational influence on the education of black children.

Jencks asserts that desegregation can remove about a fifth of the difference between the educational achievement of black and white children. In some schools this could amount to as much as a year's gain in educational achievement by high school graduation. Armor noted in his 1972 Senate testimony that a new study in one of the cities he discussed (Hartford, Connecticut), shows that third grade black students in desegregated schools were achieving nearly twice as fast as those in segregated schools. At the second grade level, the rate of progress was 50 percent above the level in ghetto schools. Armor said that these results were not significant, because the white children were learning even more rapidly than their black classmates and the gap between blacks and whites continued to grow. The fact is, however, that the results showed that integration could substantially lessen the rate at which the gap between lower-class black kids and middle-class white kids normally widens.

The only study Armor used which covered more than one year's experience in a desegregated setting was made in Riverside, California. The Riverside data actually shows, in the opinion of analysts in the Riverside school system's research department, that the problem of a continually growing achievement gap with each year of schooling may be substantially eliminated by integration beginning with the first years of school.